

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 /123 W

-----042258Z 029856 /70

R 042116Z MAR 77

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2622

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, UN, UR

SUBJ: SOVIET LETTER ON SPECIAL UNGA ON DISARMAMENT

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN MARCH 2 LETTER TO SYG, SOVIET FONMIN GROMYKO SET OUT GENERAL SOVIET APPROACH TO 1978 SPECIAL UNGA ON DISARMAMENT, CLOSELY FOLLOWING POSITIONS TAKEN AT LAST UNGA AND IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK. LETTER HIGHLIGHTS CENTRAL THEME OF SOVIET ATTITUDE -- THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD BE A PREPARATORY STEP TOWARD THE CONVENING OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE -- EVEN THOUGH THIS VIEW HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY REBUFFED BY THE NONALIGNED, REJECTED BY THE US AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS, AND DENOUNCED BY THE CHINESE. LETTER ALSO SETS OUT, IN HIGHLY CIRCUM-LOCUTORY LANGUAGE, BASICALLY CONSERVATIVE SOVIET VIEWS ON AGENDA, DECISION-MAKING, COMPOSITION OF THE SPECIAL SESSION PREPCOM, AND THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SESSION AND OTHER NEGOTIATING FORUMS. END SUMMARY.

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2. AT REQUEST OF SOVIET PERM REP TROYANOVSKY, SECRETARIAT CIRCULATED ON MARCH 3, AS DOCUMENT A/32/60, A LETTER FROM GROMYKO ADDRESSED TO THE SYG CONTAINING SOVIET VIEWS ON SPECIAL SESSION ISSUES. LETTER APPARENTLY CONSTITUTES SOVIETS RESPONSE TO REQUEST CONTAINED IN LAST FALL'S SPECIAL SESSION RESOLUTION FOR SUBMISSION OF VIEWS OF MEMBER STATES

BEFORE APRIL 15 ON THE SESSION'S AGENDA AND OTHER  
RELEVANT ISSUES. (SOVIET RESPONSE IS THE FIRST.)

3. LETTER BEGINS BY RECALLING LONGSTANDING SOVIET  
EFFORTS IN DISARMAMENT FIELD, CITING IN PARTICULAR  
1976 SOVIET DISARMAMENT MEMORANDUM WITH ITS "COMPRE-  
HENSIVE PROGRAM OF SERIOUS AND URGENT MEASURES." IT  
ALSO QUOTES BREZHNEV DECLARATION THAT "OUR POLICY IS  
NOT TO STRIVE FOR SUPERIORITY IN ARMAMENTS BUT TO  
STRIVE FOR THEIR REDUCTION, FOR A LESSENING OF  
MILITARY CONFRONTATION."

4. AT HEART OF SOVIET LETTER IS EXTENDED REITERATION  
OF SOVIET VIEWS ON THE NEED FOR AND BENEFITS OF  
CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND THE SOVIET  
POSITION THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION "COULD CONSTITUTE  
AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE ON THE PATH TOWARD A WDC. WITH-  
OUT REPLACING EXISTING AND PROVEN FORMS ON DISARMAMENT  
NEGOTIATIONS, THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA COULD  
FACILITATE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEM OF DIS-  
ARMAMENT AT A WDC, IN WHICH ALL STATES WOULD  
PARTICIPATE." THE LETTER ACCORDINGLY ASSERTS THAT  
"A MOST IMPORTANT TASK FACING THE SESSION IS THAT  
OF DETERMINING THE FURTHER STEPS TO BE TAKEN  
TOWARD THE PRACTICAL PREPARATION AND HOLDING OF A  
WDC AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME."

5. ASIDE FROM THE WDC ISSUE, THE AGENDA SUGGESTED  
IN THE LETTER IS VAGUE. IT SHOULD, "IN THE VIEW OF  
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THE USSR GOVERNMENT, PROVIDE FOR A BROAD EXCHANGE  
OF VIEWS ON THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT WITH REGARD  
NOT ONLY TO FUNDAMENTAL APPROACHES TO THE QUESTION  
AT THE PRESENT STAGE BUT ALSO TO THE BASIC DIRECTIONS  
OF THE PRIORITY EFFORTS OF STATES IN THE DISARMAMENT  
FIELD, WITH A VIEW TO ATTAINING THE MAIN, ULTIMATE  
GOAL OF ALL EFFORTS IN THAT FIELD, NAMELY GENERAL AND  
COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. IN THAT CONNECTION, THE  
SESSION COULD ALSO DEVOTE ATTENTION TO PARTIAL  
MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD LIMITING AND HALTING THE  
ARMS RACE AND BRINGING ABOUT DISARMAMENT, AND TO  
MEASURES TAKEN ON A REGIONAL BASIS."

6. THE LETTER CAUTIOUSLY SUGGESTS THAT "THE SPECIAL  
SESSION COULD CULMINATE IN THE ADOPTION, FOR  
EXAMPLE, OF A FINAL POLITICAL DECLARATION REFLECTING  
THE JOINT APPROACH OF STATES TO THOSE QUESTIONS."

7. THE LETTER'S ROUNDABOUT LANGUAGE CONCERNING

DECISION-MAKING AT THE PREPCOM AND SESSION IS  
LIKELY TO BE INTERPRETED AS SIGNALLING SOVIET IN-  
TENTION TO PRESS FOR A CONSENSUS RULE. THE LETTER  
READS: "IN DECIDING QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE  
PREPARATION AND HOLDING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION,  
CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO THE VITAL IMPORTANCE  
OF DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS FOR THE FATE OF THE WORLD  
AND TO THEIR SPECIFIC NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR  
MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF STATES. BOTH THE  
PREPARATORY WORK AND THE ORGANIZATION AND HOLDING OF  
THE SESSION ITSELF MUST FULLY REFLECT THE LOFTY  
RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL STATES OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY  
THE GREAT POWERS, WHICH POSSESS THE MOST POWERFUL  
WEAPONS AND ARMED FORCES. DECISIONS AT THE SESSION  
SHOULD BE TAKEN IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EXCLUDE ENTIRELY  
THE POSSIBILITY OF DAMAGING THE SECURITY INTERESTS  
OF STATES."

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8. ON PARTICIPATION, THE LETTER IMPLICITLY RECALLS

THE EAST EUROPEAN GROUP'S DISSATISFACTION WITH ITS ALLOCATION OF SIX PREPCOM SEATS. IT NOTES THAT TO PERMIT "THOROUGH AND COMPREHENSIVE" PREPARATIONS, THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE PREPCOM SHOULD "TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SPECIAL NATURE OF THE DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS WITH WHICH THEY WILL DEAL; IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMITTEE'S STRUCTURE SHOULD REFLECT THE ACTUAL ROLE WHICH STATES PLAY IN THIS FIELD."

9. FINALLY, THE LETTER INDIRECTLY WANRS AGAINST INTERFERING WITH THE CCD, SALT, AND OTHER EXISTING FORUMS, STIFFLY ASSERTING THAT "THE SOVIET UNION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE CONVENING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA AND ITS DECISIONS SHOULD ASSIST THE WORK OF EXISTING CHANNELS OF DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH ARE FACED WITH THE TASK OF WORKING OUT PRACTICAL STEPS AND ARRANGEMENTS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AIMED AT HALTING THE ARMS RACE AND BRINGING ABOUT DISARMAMENT."  
BENNETT

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DISARMAMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 04-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770075-0862  
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**Litigation History:**  
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**Message ID:** 4fcd12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
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**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOVIET LETTER ON SPECIAL UNGA ON DISARMAMENT  
**TAGS:** PARM, PDIP, UR, UN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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